the country. Housing conditions in those ghettos are almost invariably bad, but acceptable to the new immigrant, whose foremost wish is to find a cheap shelter. As soon, however, as he has acquired the necessary means, he tries to leave the ghetto for some better quarter.

In New York City there is a gradual shifting of the Jewish inhabitants from the proletarian ghettos on the East Side to Brooklyn and Bronx, and from there to fashionable quarters, such as Washington Heights. This ''shifting[3]', which immigrants, if specially lucky, accomplish in one generation, but which usually takes two or three generations, continually alters the distribution of the Jews in the New York area. Now that, owing to the restrictions on immigration, new-comers no longer replace those who leave the East Side, the number of Jews diminishes there, while it increases in Bronx and Brooklyn.

Similar conditions prevail in other American cities—Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland—which until recent years had a strong Jewish immigration. Each has its proletarian district, into which the immigrants crowd at first, but which they gradually abandon for middle-class districts.

The social position of the American Jew is best defined by the district he inhabits. This is the index of his economic situation, and even of his political outlook, and most of all of the stage he has reached in assimilation.

The Jew in the first ghetto is "orthodox" in his religion, in the second "conservative", in the third "reformed" or "liberal".[1] The proletarian ghettos work as filtering-bed, in which immigrants, too old or unable to adjust themselves to new conditions, sink to the bottom and form a residue. The others —most of all the second generation—supply the outflow. They do not, however, as a rule, move straight to the non-Jewish districts, but pass through a second, middle-class, ghetto. It takes some time before in the new country they cease to feel strangers, and before they can freely move

[1] Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago, 1928), p. 256.